181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 221 233 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle, the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

791 The dangers which formerly threatened them in times of drought were such as to keep them away from the capital.

132 Before mentioning their duties, we deem it useful to list the names of the native months and seasons with a short explanation of 221 their meaning. This will make it easier to understand the importance 805 of these men to their compatriots, whom they fleece shamelessly.

Part One

Months, Seasons, and Principal Rains

I. Native Months

1.	Nzeri . . . . . October	7.	Werurgwe . . . . . April
2.	Okwakira . . . . . November	8.	Mata . . . . . May
3.	Ogushingo . . . . . December	9.	Gichurassi . . . . . June
4.	Okuboza . . . . . January	10.	Kamena . . . . . July
5.	Mutarama . . . . . February	11.	Nyakanga . . . . . August
6.	Gashantare . . . . . March	12.	Gatumba gatoya . . September
			Gatumba kanama . "

Nzeri, October, is the first on the list (imfura y' amezi). The Banyarwanda, indeed, count from October onward and regard this month as the most important because the cultivation of beans begins at this time.

Okwakira, November, comes from the verb kwaka (or kwakira), which means "to shine" because the sun is quite strong. /426/

Ogushingo, December, is reputed to be a very rainy month.

Okuboza, January, comes from the word kuboza, "to rot." It often happens, indeed, that the rains of the preceding month persist and seriously damage the crops.

The word Mutarama, which comes from the verb gutarama, "to nibble" (like the verb guhekenya, with which it is synonymous) was given to the month of February because it is at that time that one finds in certain parts of Ruanda, here and there, a few ears of ripe sorghum which children do not hesitate to cut off and eat.

●221 805 [539] Werurgwe, April. This word designates microscopic insects which occasionally prey on sorghum and quickly destroy it. Hence the expression, "Go and see whether the (above-mentioned) insects have attacked (the sorghum)" (Mulebe ngo Werurgwe itayajamo).

Gichurassi. This is the baleful month (ukwezi kubi) during which the annual mourning which lasts 15 days takes place at court. It is also the time of colds and bronchitis, hence the common ex-
[539] pression, "He who lies down with a cold will be carried away (made to die) by the month of June" (Uryamye ibichurane, igichurassi kizamutwara).

Kamena, July. This month is thus called from the word kumena, "to shatter" or "to tear out," because in those provinces of Ruanda where sorghum is cultivated only once a year people harvest the ripe ears in order to crush the grain and make bread (umutsima), which they have not tasted for a long time.

Nyakanga, August, comes from the word gukanga "to frighten." It is called thus because it is often fatal to old cows (amabuguma, ibibuguma), hence the common expression, Nyakanga ikanga amabuguma,
[551] "The month of August frightens old animals," that is to say, causes them to die.

The two terms Gatumba gatoya and Gatumba /427/ kanama formerly served to designate two months, that is, August and September, prior to the creation of the month of Mata, May. Today they indicate
[132] the two fortnights in September, thus named from the word gutumba, "to swell," because the clouds begin to gather in the sky and the rains begin to fall.

As for the month of Mata, it was created at the instigation of the sorcerers under the reign of Lwabugiri.

Mata literally means "milk," and in a figurative sense it means "abundance." It is also the name of a hill at Marangara, where as already mentioned Mutara and his son Lwabugiri established their residence because this area is reputed to bring good fortune to those who inhabit it. It is said that once for several years the rains failed to come and the crops did not ripen. In order to cope with this grave difficulty, it was resolved that henceforth a new month would be added to the year, and that this month would precede the month of

221 805 mourning (gichurassi) so as to give the crops time to ripen. And thus it was done. The name of the hill, a name of good omen, was given to the new month.

132 805 The native months correspond more or less to those of our solar year, owing to the elasticity with which the Banyarwanda endow their lunar divisions. They take the short rainy season, indeed, as their point of reference for cultivation and sowing. This rainy period bears the name of Nzeri and corresponds roughly to our month of October (1).

1. In some areas of vast Central Africa, the Blacks use the word masika, which means "rainy season" and belongs to the Kiswahili vocabulary. This term is preceded by the qualifiers "little" or "big" to denote the two rainy seasons. The little masika begins in October and usually ends in December. The big masika covers the months of February, March, April, and part of May.

We have heard it said that the Batutsi, herders living in the open air, acquired a practical knowledge of time from the plants and flowers that grow /428/ at regular intervals, and that they imparted this knowledge to the cultivators.

II. Seasons

221 805 The Banyarwanda also distinguish four seasons.

1. Uruhira, from the verb gushya, after its applicative /sic/ guhira, "to burn," designates the end of summer because this is the time when grass is burned everywhere. Another synonymous term is used, ku (1) Muyonga (ivu), which means "the time of ashes." One

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/ 1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding. /

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

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As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII. Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga
X. Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI. Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of ntumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

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22 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

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805 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

[296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba Iyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

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805 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¾ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.